113, 101, 221, 619, 463 Kurd MAll

[For information on the Kurd see l: Coon, Ml Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 215-217.]

characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this collision, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "nomads" cited above. 233 [162]

In spring the kotchir are on the move, leading their flocks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Mosul and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands, seeking the warmth of the Jazira plain. In former days their passage could often be turbulent. Because of his flocks, the kotchir must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if none peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the nomad still has the right of way after dark, and moving a vehicle through the sea of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the kotchir constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a qaimaqam, such as that of Rowanduz. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep missing from the nomad, or transient flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as many cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the qaimaqam of Rowanduz must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country. 221 ● 233 [625] [491] [693] [648]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

584 369 family select the prospective bride, also when the first choice is dropped, as mentioned above. It is the women who conduct the preliminary negotiations[82], which are concluded by a meeting between the men of the two families implicated.

[691] The girl can refuse to agree to the union, but this, I was told, is regarded as a great insult. According to the law the father and grandfather have as well the right to marry off a minor daughter or granddaughter without obtaining her permission[83].

562 584 In the meantime a Kurdish girl can oppose the concept of marriage itself. My interpreter, an extremely intelligent girl, hoped to be able to continue her education abroad, a thing the city authorities permitted in holding out as a possibility, and therefore did not wish to marry for the time being. I did not come across any example of a father or mother forcing a daughter into marriage. There was, on the other hand, a case where a father had forced a young son to marry a girl fifteen years older. To avoid this forced marriage the young man fled to the mountains, but in vain. The father got his way. Whilst in Kurdistan I met the woman in question and the fruits of the marriage, a little girl; the husband I only saw at a distance.

582 In regard to the age at which marriage is contracted, there is the case of my interpreter's half-sister, who became a bride at the age of twelve. Asked if she could consider being married, she remained silent[84]. I was told that she had been big and strong for her age. Her two children had been born when she was 16 and 18, and she and they looked quite healthy and sound. In Halabja I lived in a house where the then 25 year old wife had been married at the age of 11, her husband then having been 25[85]. Her first child was born 6-7 years after the marriage. It was said that in the districts around Tawella, to which many families moved just for most of the summer on account of the work in the mulberry plantations there, and adolescent boys and girls picked fruit together, that, failing the protection afforded to their virginity by a home, it was common for girls to be married before reaching puberty. In Balkha brides of 11-12 were mentioned. Here the reason for the early entry into the married state was said to be the shortage of adult women, but it was also averred that the first child was not born for 6-7 years after the wedding. Maternity before the girl is full-grown, as met with in India, does not therefore, appear to be usual in Southern Kurdistan.

[221] It might be expected that a girl of 11 or 12 would as a housewife be little use to a man, but my interpreter told me that a girl of this age—to us but a child—although completely uneducated and illiterate, was on the other hand domestically accomplished and fully aware of the behaviour expected of her in her new home. In consequence no major difficulties existed. As a parallel to this we have what Kaberry[86] says about the conditions of the Australian aborigines. Here a child bride of 9-11 is fully trained in the pattern of behaviour expected of her, has some sexual knowledge, is prepared for her wifely duties, and therefore cannot in any way be compared with a European schoolgirl of a similar age.

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585 *The marriage contract.* A church or civil wedding is the main feature of a marriage contracted in the West, and conditions in the event of divorce, death of the spouse, and the wife's economic position during marriage are not laid down at that time. The drawing up of a marriage settlement and separate estate are still not regarded as really good form, and, despite the large percentage, divorce is not taken into consideration. Questions of inheritance are also arranged later, if at all.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

the nomads in the South Kurdish area. Their traditions place their origins in the *Djoswro* area of Persian Kurdistan, where in fact some 10—12 Jaf tribes still live. About 230 years ago, the tensions between the *Shi'i* Persian government and the *Sunni* Jaf precipitated conflict, and the tribes which refused subjection were unable to defend themselves, and fled across the border to the Sunni Ottoman Empire. This group of migrants is said to have counted some 500 families. They were given pastures close to the Persian frontier, which they in turn served to protect. As a result of natural growth, and by assimilation of small and broken tribes into their organization, the group grew to the present total of some 60,000 persons. Up till 35—40 years ago, they had remained nomadic. At the present time the nomadic section makes up only a small fraction of the total, numbering some 2—3000 individuals.

The annual migration of the nomadic Jaf carries them ca. 250 km. from their winter camps on the plains to the summer pastures in the high mountains. Unlike the otherwise similar Central Asiatic nomads, the Jaf have no permanent houses for winter use, but live in their black tents all year. Agricultural pursuits are rare, and generally only involve hiring a man to raise a crop of grain, or renting out oxen to the farmers. More typically, the economy is purely pastoral.

ASHIRET. There is some vagueness as to the Kurdish classification of the Jaf unit. If one asks a solitary Jaf to what tribe, *tira*, he belongs, he will tend to answer Jaf. On the other hand, Jaf informants outlining the political structure were unwilling to use the term *tira* for the whole group, and preferred to reserve it for the next smaller unit: the various sections making up the Jaf group. Usually the Arabic term *Ashiret* was preferred, having reference both to a people and to an area (cf. Leach, op.cit., p. 13). Obviously, this is a slight misapplication, considering that the nomadic Jaf share their area with a number of other groups. Due to the above mentioned historical process of growth by assimilation, the Jaf today constitute a federation of groups of diverse origin. They themselves make the distinction between «true» Jaf and later associated groups, but have no special term or organization for the «true» Jaf.

For lack of a better term, the Jaf confederacy as a whole should

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move reasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organisation at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups, though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organisation of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Soran and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Jemil Agha of Bahrika (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jemil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MAll
Iraq

132 We have already seen that the Kurds
• 221 are essentially shepherds of the mountains. In the latitude where they live—approximately that of Greece—winter at sea-level may be mild, while in the mountains it is harsh. The cool summer breezes and green meadows of the higher mountains turn to snow, avalanche, and the rigours of a highland winter. So to save his flocks the Kurdish shepherd long ago became nomadic, making annual treks to the warmer valleys in the lower hills to obtain
221 winter grazing. The nomadic life, however, provides but a limited diet and the desire to supplement it by agriculture is a

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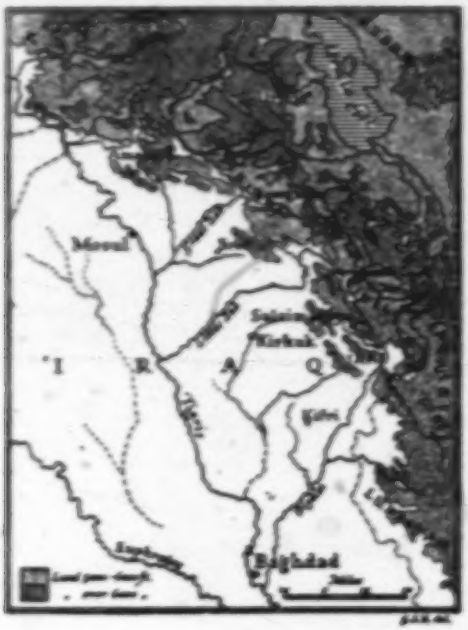

• 22/ natural one. The Kurdish shepherd moves through lands where cereals and vegetables can be grown: barley, wheat, maize, rice, melons and tomatoes are among the crops cultivated in various parts; so the tendency is for the nomad to become semi-nomadic.

This is the term applied to tribes which have built villages in the lower ground into which they retire with their flocks and herds during the severity of the winter. The live-stock are normally crowded into a semi-basement below the living quarters. In the spring, when the grazing near at hand is used up, a portion of the tribe takes the flocks to the highlands, living in the usual black tents of the nomads, while certain members of each tribe remain in the village attending to the crops. Some tribes vacate their villages completely. The family goods and chattels are loaded onto the backs of oxen, donkeys or mules, and nothing is left behind except the four stone walls and mud roofs of the houses.

221 178 A number of Kurdish tribes in Iraq, however, are still entirely nomadic; these include various sections of the Jaf, Herki and other tribes. At the other end of the scale are the 'settled' Kurds, who live in villages in one locality throughout the year. Settled Kurds already outnumber the nomadic Kurds of Iraq, and for several reasons the tendency is for their numbers to increase further.

The first and most important is that in the case of most of the nomadic tribes the mountains of Iraq have been their winter habitat in the past, while for summer grazing they used the fertile slopes of the

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11:Johnson G^3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

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J. C. A. Johnson

An increasing majority of the Kurds are now 'settled', but sections of some tribes, among them the Jaf, are still entirely nomadic. A powerful chief of the Jaf with two of his sons

[51 a]

• 221 /178 higher mountains over the Turkish or Iranian border. With the spread of bureaucratic administration in these countries—especially in Iran—the frontiers have been closed to the passage of nomadic tribes by the imposition of taxes and conditions with which the tribesman cannot economically comply; so he has perforce to give up his summer highlands. Instead he has to use the border districts of Iraq which he formerly passed through in the spring and autumn. But here again the Iraq government policy is to settle the tribes where possible, owing to the difficulty of effective administrative control over nomads and the difficulty of bringing them within the influence of the government's educational and social policies.

000 The 'settling of the tribes' is distasteful to anyone who has lived among them and learned to appreciate the healthy care-free

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

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Springtime exodus of a semi-nomadic tribe and its flocks up the Rowanduz Road, constructed under British supervision in 1927, to higher summer grazing grounds. Cows serve as pack animals

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Encampment of tents occupied by semi-nomads while away from their villages with flocks in summer

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East N/
Kurd MA 11

PRESENT POLITICAL GROUPING

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-A3

It has largely been inevitable that the present national frontiers, drawn in lands where sectarian and social divisions are strong, and where political consciousness is mostly in the first stage of development, should in some instances give incomplete realisation to the political needs and aspirations of Middle Eastern peoples. Although it is probably impossible to devise frontiers which would be even moderately satisfactory in this respect, present boundaries offer a number of outstanding difficulties. Palestine is a problem on its own, but in addition three other communities—the Kurds, the Armenians, and the Assyrian Christians—find themselves without a political future, and present special problems to the national governments of the various states in which they live.

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The Kurds are a semi-nomadic pastoral people, living in the highlands of eastern Anatolia and the north-western Zagros. Transhumance between summer pastures on the higher mountain slopes, and winter quarters in the valleys and lowlands (sometimes involving movement between widely separated districts), has brought the Kurds into conflict with the four national governments, because their homeland is now divided among Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq. It has been said of this people that they have claims to racial purity and to continuity of culture that are stronger than those of any European nation, since the Kurds have been settled in their present home since about 2400 B.C.; but the term 'culture' must be taken in a limited sense, for the Kurds are renowned as a fierce and predatory people, and their social organisation has not progressed beyond the level of tribal grouping. Their occupation of eastern Anatolia and the northern Zagros has given them command of a number of important trade-routes, from which they have derived considerable revenue by means of heavy exactions on trading caravans. The Kurds have the reputation of being pre-eminently a people that it is unsafe to trifle with, and their tendency to shoot on sight at moving objects has kept outside interference to a minimum.[1] Even the Ottoman Turks could do little to subjugate them, and they remained free from Turkish taxation and military conscription.

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The Kurds were, however, employed by the Turks as agents in persecuting Christian minorities—chiefly the Armenians. The Kurds

[1] This is the verdict of a succession of travellers in the region, from Alexander the Great and Xenophon to Marco Polo and the Peace Treaty Commission of 1919.

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Kurd
Sinjabi

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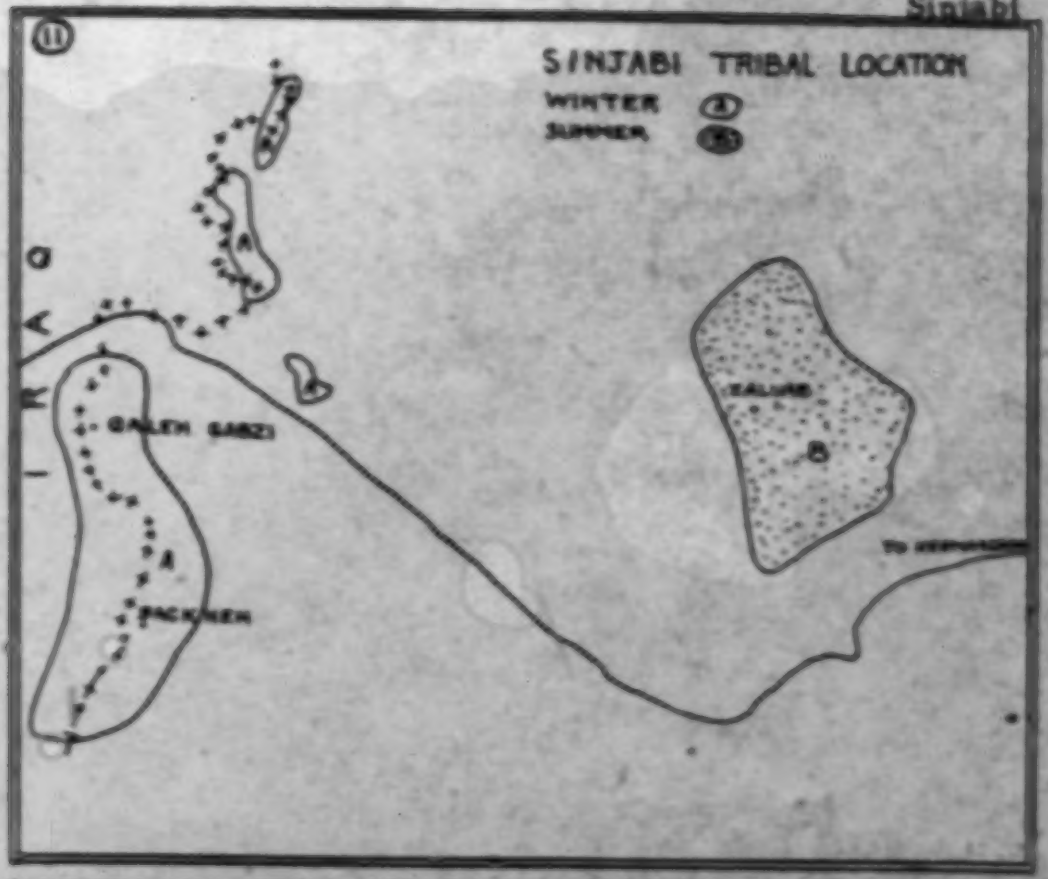

14: Iranov B-6 (no date) 1926 MAI Box MAI
Kurd MAI

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The following list gives an approximate view as to the present principal sub-divisions of the Kurdish-speaking tribes; they are mentioned in order from north to south, and according to the area which they inhabit:

1. Melanlu, in Qubbkhanah, the northern part of the districts of Isfarain, Juwain, and the extreme north of Nishapur.
2. Bajgiranlu, a small sub-tribe, living near Bajgiran.
3. Aghanlu, near Aghach and along the frontier.
4. Hiwalanlu, near Quchan, and in Darreh Gaz.
5. Qaramanlu, near Nawukh, Dizawan, etc.
6. Shadilu, in Bujnurd, etc., mostly speaking Turkish only.
7. Za'faranlu, in Shirwan, have now lost their former importance; very few speak Kurdish.
8. Kuwalu, north of Quchan.*
9. Mashkanlu, near Mashkan, in the district of Quchan.
10. Burji, *ibid.*, near Radqan.
11. Kaiwanlu, *ibid.*, in Juwain and in the northern parts of the Nishapur district.
12. Mashhakanlu, in northern part of Nishapur and the Quchan districts.

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All these tribes represent forms of transition between pure nomads and the ordinary peasant. Many of them are half-nomads, *i.e.* they cultivate fields in the summer and are nomads in the winter, when they shift to some warmer district. It is specific that the transition from the nomadic to the settled life is very gradual, and that it is going on in every tribe.

Some other tribes consist chiefly of nomads, such as the following:

13. Rashanlu, in Khakistar, Lain, near Kashkha.
14. Brimanlu, near Kashkha, and in the summer to Kalat.
15. Hafshalanlu, Darreh Gaz in the winter and Quchan valley in the summer.
16. Badiwanlu, in the same places.
17. Jafkanlu, in the winter at Chamakalur and in the summer at Kuh-i-Dunbat.†
18. Karamanlu, in the northern parts of the Nishapur districts.
19. Waranlu, a small tribe in the same place.
20. Tupkanlu, in the district of Juwain, partly in Nishapur; in the winter they migrate to the Dasht-i-Taqi.‡
21. 'Amarlu, north-west from Nishapur, in and around the village of Marunbi (also called Marunb).

* Their name resembles the Guran of Kurdistan proper, and the connection is quite probable.

† These may be connected with a western Kurdish tribe of Jaf, who are very numerous along the Mesopotamian frontier.

‡ Their migrations extend over a very long distance, taking weeks for a journey with their live-stock. It is remarkable that their passage is never accompanied with any accident or robbery.

44 Wilson G-8 (no date) 1937 MSS Iraq MSS.
Kurd 918

I K 657 648 721 Air Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish K 725 authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found I 164 166 that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani, K [779] where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

I 663 663 K 221 What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rayat and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowandus road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Hirki, with their 60,000 animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. [I K 648] During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Irani Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other I E 650 nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the spare grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to popularize summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

I K 938 939 The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

4c Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MIII Iraq MIII
Kurd PIA II

000 of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Sergis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

K 137 Kurdistan is a beautiful country. It is in the main well wooded, with scrub or stunted oak on the hillsides and poplars, walnuts and mulberries near the villages. Pines grow in two areas only and chinārs (planes) along the streams. Unfortunately, deforestation is proceeding apace, and unless immediate and drastic steps are taken by the 'Iraq Government, heavy soil erosion and a tremendous decrease in grazing facilities will take place. Few new walnut trees are to be found owing to a prevalent superstition that the planter of a walnut tree will die with the appearance of the first nuts. It might be supposed that the oldest inhabitants could be employed in planting, but apparently the grandfathers look askance at this suggestion!

K 181 The Kurds are a virile and cheerful people. They have been called treacherous, and undoubtedly stories can be quoted in support of this accusation. Yet it must be remembered that the annals of our own Scottish highlands are by no means clean in this respect.

K 164 In the summer the valleys of Kurdistan are, unfortunately, very malarial, and this is fostered by the cultivation of rice with its invariable ● 221 accompaniment of mosquitoes. During this season most of the flock-342 owners move to their "sōzāns" or summer shellings on the mountain tops, where, in shelters of oak branches, they pass the time pleasantly enough.

Christians

I 795 The Christians of the northern provinces are divided into numerous sects, several of which are relics of the old schismatic divisions of the Eastern Communion. They include Chaldeans and Syrian Catholics, who are under the control of Rome, Jacobites, Armenians, Nestorians and Seventh Day Adventists.

I 795 167 563 648 162 Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics and Jacobites are found in Mosul and many villages on the left bank of the Tigris. Chaldeans are also found in the Supna valley near Amadia and in one large village near Arbil. Seventh Day Adventists only flourish in Mosul. Many people in England know something of the Assyrians and their recent history. The Assyrians themselves claim to be descendants of the famous kingdom of Nineveh and are certainly semitic. The term "Assyrian" now includes ex-Ottoman members of the Nestorian Church who were domiciled either within what is now the 'Iraq state or who were ejected from Hakkari by the Turks during the Great War and refused